JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

JLIS.it

# "You will be richer, but I very much doubt that you will be happier". Antonio Panizzi professor in London, 1828-1831*

**Stefano Gambari[(a)], Mauro Guerrini[(b)]**

a) Biblioteche di Roma, https://orcid.org/0000-0002-2910-9654
b) Università degli Studi di Firenze, http://orcid.org/0000-0002-1941-4575

**Contact:** Stefano Gambari, s.gambari@bibliotechediroma.it; Mauro Guerrini, mauro.guerrini@unifi.it
**Received:** 30 September 2019; **Accepted:** 8 October 2019; **First Published:** 15 January 2020

**ABSTRACT**

The paper offers an overview of the complex, not easy period in which Antonio Panizzi was teaching at London University (1828-1831), innovatively suggesting that "a uniform program be adopted for the study of all modern languages and literatures" and nevertheless dedicating himself to research with care and passion. In the article, the teaching materials and custom tools he quickly provided to his students for learning italian language and culture are analyzed regarding concept, structure and target: *The Elementary Italian Grammar* 1828, and two anthologies of prose writings: *Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers*, 1828, and *Stories from Italian Writers with a Literal Interlinear Traduction*, 1830.

**KEYWORDS**

Italian language; Italian grammar; Italian literature; Teaching materials for italian; University of London; Antonio Panizzi.

**CITATION**

Gambari, S., Guerrini., M. "«You will be richer, but I very much doubt that you will be happier». Antonio Panizzi professor in London, 1828-1831." *JLIS.it* 11, 1 (January 2020): 73–88. DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600.

* Translated into English by Eugenie Greig.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

## Exile in England

Fleeing the Duchy of Modena in consequence of his active role in conspiring to achieve Italian unity, Antonio Panizzi arrives in London in May 1823 and immediately makes contact with the community of Italian exiles: he forges a firm friendship with Santorre Santa Rosa and associates with Ugo Foscolo and Thomas Campbell. In the summer of the same year – with the help of William Roscoe,[1] a patron of Italian literary culture in England – he moves to Liverpool, where he teaches Italian literature and gives lectures at the Royal Institution. In five years he studies and masters the English language – which will be a decisive factor in his surprising success in the British community. The thirty-year-old Panizzi has already demonstrated his exceptional strength of character. This man:

> endowed with an inexhaustible capacity for work and for dealing with people, had, despite being poor and in exile, for want of better, turned himself into a self-styled teacher, and even into a professor, and, for almost ten years – the best years, between youth and maturity – had carried out a thankless task, one which left him with no hope of success.[2]

The masterly pen of Carlo Dionisotti manages to present a highly effective insight into the profile of Panizzi the professor and helps us to draw closer to the substance of a character of extraordinary versatility, who until that time had published only a single book, *Dei Processi e delle Sentenze*.[3] That work denounced the failure to observe legal guarantees, with statements being extracted from accused persons through torture by investigators and by the Tribunal of Modena, and it had an international resonance, which served to make the author known and valued within the circles of political exiles and the English intelligentsia. He had not yet written anything on Italian language or literature.

## Professor at London University

Panizzi's fortunes soon became linked with those of London University, an institution founded in 1826 by a radical minority of educated English, among them Henry Brougham, lawyer and statesman. Biographer Edward Miller draws attention to the positive impression made on Brougham by the rhetorical skills and competence employed by Panizzi in the trial of the Ellen Turner case.[4] Brougham and Thomas Campbell played a key role in assisting the exile upon his first arrival in London and in facilitating his integration into British life, and also in his professional career as a teacher of the Italian language.

[1] William Roscoe (Liverpool, March 8, 1753 – Liverpool, June 30, 1831) welcomes and protects Panizzi in Liverpool; Roscoe leads the English rediscovery of the Italian Rinascimento and is the author of two celebrated lives – those of Lorenzo the Magnificent and Leo X.

[2] Carlo Dionisotti, *Un professore a Londra. Studi su Antonio Panizzi*, a cura di Giuseppe Anceschi. Novara: Interlinea edizioni, 2002, p. 57.

[3] Antonio Panizzi, *Dei Processi e delle Sentenze contro Gli imputati di Lesa-Maestà e di aderenza alle Sette proscritte negli Stati di Modena del Tribunale statario di Rubiera…* Madrid [but Lugano]: [s.n.], 1823.

[4] Ellen Turner, at age fifteen, was removed from school in Liverpool on March 7, 1826 and carried off by a young widower, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, with whom she contracted a form of marriage. Traced by her family to Calais, she was persuaded to return to England. Wakefield was prosecuted and the scandal was denounced and received wide attention in the press because of the romantic aspects of the affair and the involvement with the convoluted legal aspects of the trial, which was held the following year and saw Panizzi and Brougham defend the accused and win.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600



As early as 1821, in fact, Thomas Campbell had, together with a group of friends and colleagues, developed the idea of creating a new university in London, conceiving of it as an opportunity for all those who were unable to access Oxford or Cambridge: restrictions on academic access were at that time considered to be intolerable by broad sectors of public opinion. London University, which was later to be called University College London (UCL), was the first British university to admit students without regard to sex, ethnicity, religion or political ideology. Brougham fully grasped the strategic importance of the project that quickly became its life and soul: in fact, he became president of the University Council upon its establishment and applied himself to the task with care and determination. In 1827 London University named the appointees to its various chairs.[5] Several candidates were identified for the chair of Italian language and literature, among them Giuseppe Pecchio, Ugo Foscolo, Gaetano De Marchi, Gabriele Rossetti – all of whom, however, were unavailable for various reasons.[6] Brougham was able to exercise his influence[7] on an initially hesitant Panizzi: over the last five years, the Italian exile had woven a considerable network of cultural relations among the intellectual circles of Liverpool, relations which he had no intention of letting go: first and foremost with William Roscoe, William Shepherd and Francis Haywood; he was above all very worried about a university appointment, furthermore, one that was in a completely new environment. Brougham invites him to apply for the chair of Italian language and literature, but the economist and Milanese patriot Giuseppe Pecchio – a friend of Panizzi and also in exile after the 1821 movement in Italy – first in Spain, then in Portugal and, lastly, in Great Britain – sends a message to his "beloved Panizzi" warning him:

> Returning to the question of your professorship, there is no doubt that you will be richer, but I very much doubt that you will be happier. That will depend upon your nature: London holds so much to irritate the bile![8]

Edward Miller reports a detail of Panizzi's visit to London in February 1828, which "helped with resolving his doubts":

[5] Miller, recalling the moment in which Brougham becomes director of the new Council makes a note: "Creevey sarcastically referred to 'Brougham and the enlightened who are founding Stinko Miles College at the end of Gower Street'". Edward Miller, *Prince of Librarians. The Life and Times of Antonio Panizzi of the British Museum*. London: Deutsch, 1967, p. 79.

[6] "It would appear that Campbell initially had Pecchio in mind as a suitable candidate for the chair of Italian, but he, newly married, gave up the idea, knowing that the position would not be a good financial prospect. Foscolo towards the end of his life was interested, briefly, but immediately withdrew his application. Panizzi had suggested that his Piedmontese friend, Gaetano De Marchi, who was then teaching in Edinburgh, might take on the position; another candidate was the poet and critic Gabriele Rossetti, father of Dante Gabriel and Christina Rossetti. In July 1827, De Marchi wrote to Panizzi that it was unlikely he would apply for the chair, an assurance that he repeated one month later, upon hearing that Panizzi had proposed him; in a later letter, on 1 August 1827, De Marchi promised Panizzi that he would use any relevant influence he might have in his favour, should he wish to apply for the post" (cf. Additional Manuscripts, Department of Manuscripts, British Museum, 36, 714, ff. 84, 86 De Marchi era stato un amico di Panizzi a Brescello; Edward Miller, *Prince of Librarians*. cit., pp. 68, 69, 79).

[7] Brougham was no longer president of the Council, having been replaced by the Duke of Sussex, "the 'liberal' member of the royal family"; see: Edward Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., p. 69.

[8] The piece is taken from the anthology *Lettere ad Antonio Panizzi di uomini illustri e amici italiani (1823-1870)*, pubblicate da Luigi Fagan. Firenze: Barbèra, 1880, pp. 72–73. Louis Fagan assembled numerous letters sent to Antonio Panizzi, among them one by Giuseppe Pecchio published 1st June, 1828.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

> Panizzi paid a visit to London to meet Horner, rector of the new University. Horner[9] received him kindly and they discussed what his duties would be. Panizzi held strong reservations about teaching beginners and expressed the opinion that he would have to have an assistant to whom to delegate such commitments. Panizzi, as always, knew exactly what he wanted and made a convincing argument to Horner about it.[10]

Later, Panizzi writes Horner a letter of thanks,[11] in which he proposes a certain Pistrucci as his assistant,[12] and explains his teaching method, which he considers to be optimal. Panizzi is formally appointed to the chair of Italian language and literature at London University on the 16th of February 1828; Miller believes that he did not take office in London until the following autumn, after having concluded some commitments in Liverpool and having taken leave of his friends. Miller recalls that, in a subsequent letter to Horner,[13] Panizzi, besides returning to the request for an assistant, proposes that "a uniform program be adopted for the study of all modern languages and literatures", as agreed to by the teachers. "Here was already evident" he remarks "that rationalization, that desire to eliminate everything that got in the way of efficiency, which was to be such a noteworthy characteristic of his years at the British Museum".[14]

The Council of London University, however, did not agree to these proposals but, in any case, Panizzi accepted the conditions,[15] while still making clear his opposition to them and his displeasure at the refusal to accept his suggestion. The major difficulty, however, was due to the limited number of students enrolled in his course.[16] Panizzi left Liverpool and returned to London furnished with letters of introduction from William Roscoe to various acquaintances, such as Samuel Rogers,[17] and with a letter from Brougham to Lady Dacre, a writer and a translator of Petrarch.[18] Panizzi and Lady Dacre quickly became friends through intellectual affinity, and she and her husband helped him greatly in the first stage of his return to London, introducing him into 'society'.

[9] Leonard Horner, 1785-1864. Geologist and educator.

[10] Edward Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., p. 69.

[11] Antonio Panizzi to Horner, 24 February 1828. Original letter in University College, London. Text reproduced in Margaret Campbell Walker Wicks, *The Italian Exiles in London 1816-1848*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937, p. 266. On Google Books is found the text of the first edition, 1937; on Internet Archive, the text of the 1968 reprint.

[12] Margaret Campbell Walker Wicks, *The Italian Exiles in London 1816-1848*, cit., p. 266 reproduces the words of Panizzi: "I must find a reasonable man, who will allow himself to be directed, and who is not a sturdy pedant, or a conceited coxcomb"; Panizzi believed that Filippo Pistrucci had an accent that would have been good for the students to imitate. For a biographical note on Pistrucci, cf. Carlo Dionisotti, *Un professore a Londra*, cit., p. 139, note 5.

[13]A.P. to Horner, 19 April 1828; 29 April 1828, in Margaret Campbell Walker Wicks, *The Italian Exiles in London 1816-1848*. Manchester: University Press, 1937, pp. 267–268.

[14] Edward Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., p. 70.

[15] Antonio Panizzi to Horner, 29 April 1828. Original in London University. The text reproduced in Margaret Campbell Walker Wicks, *The Italian exiles in London 1816-1848*, cit., pp. 267–268.

[16] An entry for Robert Browning was crossed out: "found private tutor".

[17] Samuel Rogers, 1763-1855, banker and poet. Cf. Louis Fagan, *The Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi, K.C.B. Late Principal Librarian of the British Museum. Senator of Italy*. London: Remington, vol. 1, 1880, p. 73. The text of the second edition is available on Internet Archive.

[18] Barbarina Brand, Lady Dacre, 1768-1854, poet and playwright. In 1819, in her second marriage, she married Thomas Brand, the twenty-one year old Lord Dacre. Brougham's letter to Lady Dacre of March 3, 1829 (Additional Manuscripts, Department of Manuscripts, British Museum 36, 714. f.127) is reproduced in Louis Fagan, *The Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi*, cit., p. 76.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

Also W.S. Rose,[19] an acquaintance of his early days in England, now settled near Pecchio, in Brighton, wrote to Panizzi to congratulate him on his new appointment. For a period of time, until Rose's death in 1843, he and Panizzi corresponded frequently and between them there developed a cordial friendship.[20]

In London, Panizzi took up residence at Gower Street North 2, not far from the site of London University; he delivered his first lecture in November, with few students enrolled in the course: in the first year there were five, in the second eight, in the third five. His salary was directly linked to the numbers enrolled: his financial situation was, therefore, difficult in this period and had a demoralizing effect, despite the satisfaction of seeing his own works published. Some disputes arose between the academic body and the university management, one connected to an attempt to remove the lecturer in medicine, John Conolly,[21] in which Panizzi supported the director, Horner;[22] another related to a letter by Panizzi[23] protesting against a request directed to the teaching staff, that they should not oppose the possible suspension of their own employment relationship, without "just cause". Panizzi's aversion to injustice aroused a strong reaction: relations with the governance of the institution began to deteriorate; the decision not to comply with the requests for payment advanced by him in the April of 1831 still weighed heavily.[24]

Nevertheless, in this highly complex and difficult period, for Panizzi an important and decisive change was taking shape concerning his professional future at the British Library, which was linked to the political ascendancy of his important 'protector', Henry Brougham. The 'fortunate exile', as Giulio Caprin was to call him in his biography of Panizzi,[25] right from his very arrival in England, knew how to react to the vicissitudes of fate, with commendable vigour and a tenacity that made him capable of adjusting to the times and to the most varied of situations. Choosing a solution which differed from that of the majority of other Italian exiles, and integrating himself fully into his new homeland – yet without ever forgetting the Italian cause – from teacher he became professor, litterato and went on to succeed in filling the role of Principal Librarian of the library of the British Museum, becoming one of the most outstanding librarians of all time.

## Writings from his London teaching period

Panizzi's desire is to deliver lessons to a high standard, but he soon comes to realise that this will not be possible and he adapts

[19] William Steward Rose (1775-1843) was Member of Parliament for the city of Christchurch from 1796 to 1800. From 1800 he was Reading Clerk of the House of Lords and Clerk of Private Committees.

[20] Edward Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., p. 71.

[21] John Conolly, 1794-1866. Specialist in mental disorders.

[22] Antonio Panizzi to the Council of London University, 13 March 1830. Quoted in Margaret Campbell Walker Wicks, *The Italian exiles in London 1816-1848*, cit., p. 269.

[23] *Manuscripts relating to Lord Brougham at University College, London*, 24 March 1829. Quoted in Chester William New, *The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961, p. 387.

[24] London University, *MSS*, no. 2444. Quoted in Margaret Campbell Walker Wicks, *The Italian exiles in London 1816-1848*, cit., p. 133. The request was deemed a sterile honour by Keightley in his edition of the *Orlando* of Panizzi in "Foreign Quarterly Review", no. 29, vol. xv (1835).

[25] Giulio Caprin, *L'esule fortunato Antonio Panizzi.* Firenze: Vallecchi, 1945.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online

DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

> to a level of teaching only a little higher than that which he had delivered up to that point: grammar, syntax, translation […]. Of his language-teaching colleagues, only the German, Mühlenfals, could have lent a university tone to his teaching; the others were modest grammarians.[26]

Hence he works on two fronts, dedicating himself with care and passion to teaching and research. On the one hand he pursues his studies of the Italian Renaissance, preparatory to editing Matteo Maria Boiardo's Orlando Innamorato and Ludovico Ariosto's Orlando Furioso.[27] On the other, he is anxious to prepare teaching materials quickly: he publishes a grammar, *An Italian Grammar for the Use of Students in the London University*,[28] and two anthologies of prose writings: *Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers for the Use of Students in the London University*,[29] and Stories from *Italian Writers with a Literal Interlinear Traduction*.[30]

## The Elementary Italian Grammar, 1828

*An Elementary Italian Grammar for the Use of Students in the London University* is a short, basic grammar of 61 pages, that is presented "with very little claim to originality" – these the words used by Panizzi in the *Preface*, and followed by a reference to source materials: the grammar written in English by Angelo Cerutti[31] and one in French by Niccolò Giosefatte Biagioli;[32] the young professor declares that these formed the groundwork for his own work, but that he departed from them where their discourse became metaphysical. The strength of his grammar is its conciseness, which, he declares, is the "advantageous" characteristic of the text. "Here already" – comments Dionisotti – one can see that Panizzi the grammarian was that same Panizzi who was otherwise known as a man of few, essential and sufficient words":[33] very few exercises – sentences to be translated from one language to the other, which then, as now, were to be found in all grammar books -– followed by explanations of the ten parts of speech.

Biagioli's grammar was unavailable in English, otherwise – Panizzi explains – he would have adopted it for his students, because of its qualities of 'brevity and correctness'; Cerutti's grammar, on the other hand, was largely based on 'antiquated authorities' and could not be employed in its entirety. Panizzi acknowledges that he drew from both, insofar as it was useful to do so, and that he added some original matter, gaining the advantage of extreme conciseness, thanks to a reduction in the number of

[26] Giulio Caprin, *L'esule fortunato*, cit., p. 94.

[27] The comparative edition *Orlando Innamorato di Bojardo. Orlando furioso di Ariosto. With an essay on the romantic narrative poetry of the Italians. Memoirs and notes was published between 1830 and 1834*, in 9 volumes.

[28] *An Elementary Italian Grammar for the Use of Students in the London University*. London: printed for John Taylor bookseller and publisher to the University, Upper Gower Street, 1828.

[29] *Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers for the Use of Students in the London University.* London: John Taylor, 1828.

[30] *Stories from Italian Writers with a literal interlinear translation, on the plan recommended by Mr. Locke (Selected from Dr. Panizzi's Extracts from Italian Prose Writers.) [With notes, largely extracted from Panizzi's "Elementary Italian Grammar."]*. London: John Taylor, 1830.

[31] Angelo Cerutti, *A New Italian Grammar or a Course of lessons in the Italian language*. London: printed for Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper, 1828.

[32] Niccolò Giosefatte Biagioli, *Grammatica ragionata della lingua francese*. Parigi: Didot, 1814. *Grammaire italienne, élémentaire et raisonnée, suivie d'un traité de la poésie italienne*. Paris: Fayolle, 1805. Text available online on Gallica.

[33] Carlo Dionisotti, *Un professore a Londra*, cit., p. 110.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

exercises.[34] If a student has made progress in the use of a language, he will find it more useful to translate an English historical work into Italian, rather than to continue writing exercises of little interest, taken from any grammar textbook".[35]

His brief compendium, therefore, does not set out to serve as a comprehensive grammar, but as an aid in the work of translating from English into Italian.

After a page relating to the parts of speech,[36] the author illustrates: the Italian alphabet,[37] the nominative, genitive, dative, vocative and ablative cases,[38] masculine, feminine and neuter genders,[39] masculine and feminine[40] plurals,[41] the article,[42] augmentatives and diminutives,[43] adjectives,[44] numerals,[45] possessive pronouns, demonstrative pronouns, demonstratives, interrogative, interrogative relatives, indeterminants, the pronoun *si*,[46] observations on the use of auxiliary verbs,[47] on particular forms of the verbs andare and stare;[48] on verbs, and, specifically: conjugation of the verbs *essere* and *avere*; on regular and irregular verbs;[49]observations on the infinite subjunctive and the past participle;[50] prepositions;[51] orthography, in particular: accents, apostrophes, sincope, addition of letters to words.[52]

All variables make the publication a special case, isolated from that which was occurring in the first half of the century in an Italy that was still so divided, from which Panizzi had been forced to flee, and which had even condemned him to death in effigy. Remember that Panizzi "was not born to write, either in Italian, or in English; when he wanted to, he could write well, at times even vigorously, but not without effort".[53] In fact, he had studied law at the University of Parma, graduating in 1818,

[34] It would be interesting to compile a panorama of the grammatical works published in Italy in the same period, and about the even closer connection between Italian grammar and basic school teaching, together with how teaching trends revealed during the 18th century became more and more accentuated approaching Unification and the consequent necessity to establish a single language.

[35] Antonio Panizzi, *An Elementary Italian Grammar*, cit., p. ii.

[36] *Parts of speech*.

[37] Italian Alphabet, Chapter I, pp. 3–4.

[38] *Of Cases*, Chapter II, pp. 4–6.

[39] *Of Gender*, Chapter III, pp. 6–8.

[40] *Of number*, Chapter IV, pp. 8–10.

[41] *The article*, Chapter V, pp. 11–14.

[42] *Of augmentatives and diminutives*, Chapter VI, pp. 14–15.

[43] *The adjectives*, Chapter VII, pp. 16–19.

[44] *Of numeral adjectives*, Chapter VIII, pp. 19–21.

[45] *Of pronouns*. Chapter IX, pp. 21–33.

[46] *Observations upon the manner of making use of auxiliary verbs*, Chapter X, pp. 33–35.

[47] *Observations upon some forms of expression peculiar to the verbs andare, and stare*, Chapter XI, p. 35.

[48] *Of verbs*, Chapter XII, pp. 36–52.

[49] *Observations on the subjunctive and infinitive moods, and past participle*, Chapter XIII, pp. 52–53.

[50] *Prepositions*, Chapter XIV, pp. 53–56.

[51] *Ortography*, Chapter XV, pp. 56–61.

[52] Panizzi's name appears in the proceedings of the tribunal established in the Castle of Rubiera by Francesco IV of Austria, Duke of Modena and Reggio, to condemn the adherents of secret societies. Almost certainly from very early in 1820, Panizzi becomes a member of the Society of Sublime Perfect Masters and, in the face of imminent arrest, is compelled to flee first to Switzerland then to England. In Lugano he publishes the fierce pamphlet *Dei processi*, and the Duke, infuriated, orders him to be tried *in absentia*: he is condemned to death in effigy and one year after his arrival in the United Kingdom, a letter is delivered to him with the paradoxical request for reimbursement of the costs of the trial.

[53] Carlo Dionisotti, *Un professore a Londra*, cit., p. 63.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online

DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

successfully opening an office and exercising his profession in his native Brescello (Reggio Emilia). Even though political activity very quickly overtakes the professional, and circumstances force him to make a daring escape, Panizzi would never have thought of becoming a teacher of Italian.
A second, fundamental, point: his *Grammar* arises from pressing necessity, which is demonstrated by the timing of its publication – the year in which he began his university teaching: there is neither space nor time, let alone any need, for "metaphysical frills". We are inevitably very far away from the trend that at that time was enjoying success in Italy: the tendency towards annotated grammar, initiated by Francesco Soave who, in 1771, had published in Parma his *Grammatica ragionata della lingua italiana*, reprints of which continued into the 19th century and beyond. This is a grammar which, blending linguistic and pedagogical theories developed in France from the beginning of the eighteenth century with the Italian grammatical tradition, is characterized by a philosophical framework that sustains and supports the grammatical one: that is to say, the rules that underlie grammatical phenomena are explored in light of a more speculative and theoretical system that helps readers to think in terms of language.[54] The metaphysical aspect remains fundamental, however, and this is the very thing that Panizzi, in his preface to his *Grammar*, aims to avoid at all costs. Finally, the last variable: the public to whom the grammar is directed – English university students – and the language in which it is written. His choice of language helps to determine a key element of Panizzi's fate […] the of English was, in fact, not necessarily to be taken for granted in an England where Italian was commonly used by Italian editors and teachers. Panizzi, not knowing how long his exile would last, resolves to immerse himself completely in his adoptive culture. This is the turning point which perhaps not even Giuseppe Pecchio, who when necessary used to write in English, had managed to conceive of when, in a letter of 1828, he had cast doubt in a brotherly way on the future happiness of his friend, in that London of bleak skies which so upset his bile. A precondition of immersing oneself was the perfect acquisition of the English language. In the case of a scholarly publication such as the *Grammar*, the use of Italian would have been fully justified, but Panizzi gives up that idea. English becomes a necessity:

> It was thanks to that dedication and effort, that he was able to alter his vulnerable and lowly status as an exile, by strengthening his position through British citizenship, and thus being in a position to settle favourably accounts opened in Italy before his exile.[55]

In a letter to his mother in 1839, Giuseppe Mazzini sums up well the change in Panizzi (which by that time had become even more apparent) when he asserts critically: "Panizzi, through becoming English in his opinions, in fashion, in everything, is librarian of the public library, on an excellent salary".[56]

## Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers, 1828

Still in 1828, Panizzi publishes *Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers for the Use of Students in the London University*,[57] an anthology of Italian prose writers, conceived as a supporting textbook for his

[54] Simone Fornara, *Breve storia della grammatica italiana.* Roma: Carocci, 2005, pp. 84–88.
[55] Carlo Dionisotti, *Un professore a Londra*. cit., p. 64.
[56] Giuseppe Mazzini to his mother Maria Drago, 31 July 1839. Together with the one of August 21, 1839 the letter was published in: Giuseppe Mazzini *Scritti editi ed inediti*. Imola (BO): Galeati, 1914, vol. XVIII, pp. 140–141, and p. 166.
[57] Antonio Panizzi, *Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers*, cit. Panizzi's name does not appear on the title page, but at the foot of the *Prefazione*.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online

DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600



students at London University. It is a small format edition, in 12°, but with a substantial 558 pages, in which 127 texts from earliest times to the 19th century are assembled, chosen from the "most distinguished writers of Italy".

Panizzi in the brief *Preface* advises that the anthology is directed not only to university students, but to all who wish to become familiar with the Italian language and literature: that is, to all English readers

> desirous of obtaining the knowledge of a language, which, if not the most generally spoken upon the continent, is still sufficiently so, to render it an object of primary importance in the education of Englishmen.[58]

The prose is of the kind which is to be preferred when the aim is to convey or acquire familiarity with a language. In accordance with the principle of delicacy, Panizzi declares that he has, as a rule, avoided passages which might offend feminine sensibilities and has chosen not to overload the text with an elaborate structure of notes. He observes, furthermore, how at that time, much incorrect or baseless information was being put about in relation to the conditions and character of Italy – and how lack of familiarity with the Italian language and culture had actually contributed to bringing about such a deplorable state of affairs.

Since language and culture are inseparable, the sections of the anthology cover topics of a moral, social and political nature – Panizzi choosing, moreover, extracts from contemporary authors who focus on the question of Italian identity and independence. The anthology is original, compared with similar earlier publications in England, which consisted of simple adaptations of anthologies published for Italian readers and, hence, of little interest to English readers; Panizzi wished to devise an original text – on the one hand, selecting texts suited to the tastes of the British reader, and on the other, attempting to convey the idea of the extreme versatility and adaptability of the Italian language – his aim being to render study enjoyable, particularly for younger readers.

Rare indeed were anthologies of prose writings; Dionisotti stresses the novelty of Panizzi's anthology; the only comparable work was the prose *Crestomazia* of Giacomo Leopardi, published the previous year,[59] which was arranged by subject, whilst his poetry *Crestomazia*, published in 1828, is in chronological order. Panizzi's anthology, on the other hand, follows a simple alphabetical arrangement by author, allowing him to commence with Vittorio Alfieri. The difference in arrangement and in choices of a cultural nature within the two works, is evident from the comparison with the *Crestomazia*, a comparison that does no disservice to Panizzi and which permits Dionisotti to highlight the importance attributed by Panizzi to Machiavelli and Alfieri, in contrast to their sporadic occurrence in Leopardi's anthology, which comprises about eighty authors, while Panizzi includes quotations from thirty-one, of whom about a dozen do not appear at all in the *Crestomazia*, among them Alessandro Manzoni.[60]

The two anthologies stem basically from one common idea: Leopardi also wanted his teaching aid "to serve both young Italians studying the art of writing, and foreigners who wish to practise our

[58] Antonio Panizzi, *Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers*, cit., p. ix.

[59] *Crestomazia italiana, ossia Scelta di luoghi insigni o per sentimento o per locuzione raccolti dagli scritti italiani in prosa di autori eccellenti d'ogni secolo*, per cura del conte Giacomo Leopardi. Milano: Ant. Fort. Stella, 1827.

[60] Carlo Dionisotti, *Un professore a Londra*, cit., p. 110.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600



language"; yet, while departing from apparently similar premises, they produced "two anthologies that have little or nothing in common".[61]

Panizzi's anthology, where the titles of the translated passages are in English, includes among 14th century authors only Boccaccio[62] and three stories that form part of a collection of novellas written at the end of the thirteenth century, before the writing of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, and published in several works: *Novelle antiche*, *Le cento novelle antiche*, *Novellino*.[63]

The literary output of the sixteenth century is the most widely represented in the anthology, with 55 extracts (43% of the total): Agnolo Firenzuola,[64] Annibal Caro,[65] Niccolò Machiavelli,[66] Torquato Tasso,[67] Giorgio Vasari,[68] Francesco Guicciardini,[69] Benvenuto Cellini,[70] Benedetto Varchi,[71] Bernardino Baldi,[72] Pietro Bembo,[73] Lodovico Castelvetro,[74] Baldassar Castiglione,[75] Angelo Di Costanzo[76] e Luigi da Porto con un brano tratto da *Storia di Giulietta e Romeo*. It is clear from his choice of this last author, that Panizzi was keen to draw the attention of English readers to the writer from Vicenza, creator of the story of Romeo and Juliet that was later adopted by Matteo Bandello and then by William Shakespeare. Seventeenth-century authors are barely represented, with seven texts

[61] *Ibidem*, p. 112.

[62] The four extracts from Giovanni Boccaccio are: 1) *A Jew, on seeing the wickedness of the Court of Rome, turns Christian, Abraam giudeo, da Giannotto di Civignì stimolato, va in corte a Roma, e veduta la malvagità de' cherici, torna a Parigi e fassi cristiano, Decameron prima giornata seconda novella*; 2) *Melchisedec, a Jew, avoids the snares of Saladin by a timely told story, Melchisedech giudeo, con una novella di tre anella, cessa un gran pericolo dal Saladino apparecchiatogli, Decameron Prima giornata Terza novella*; 3*) Ready answer of a Cook to his Master, Chichibio, cuoco di Currado Gianfigliazzi, con una presta parola a sua salute l'ira di Currado volge in riso e sé campa dalla mala ventura minacciatagli da Currado, Decameron, Sesta Giornata Quarta novella*; 4) *Calandrino is persuaded that he has found the Elitropia, a stone which renderds men insible, but is sadly undeceived, Calandrino, Bruno e Buffalmacco giù per lo Mugnone vanno cercando di trovar l'Elitropia, e Calandrino se la crede aver trovata: tornasi a casa carico di pietre: la moglie il proverbia, et egli turbato la batte, et a suoi compagni racconta ciò che essi sanno meglio di lui, Decameron Ottava giornata Terza novella*.

[63] The three ancient *novelle* are: *A sleepy Novelist* (*Qui conta di un novellatore di messere Azzolino*); *A Sultan and a Jew* (*Come il Soldano, avendo mestiere di moneta, colle cogliere cagione a un giudeo*); *A witty interruption of a long story* (*Qui conta di'un'Huomo di Corte, che cominciò una Novella, che non venia meno*).

[64] The ten excerpts from Agnolo Firenzuola are drawn from *La prima veste de' discorsi sugli animali* of 1524.

[65] The nine extracts are from *Delle lettere familiari del commendatore Annibal Caro*. Venezia: Giunti, 1581.

[66] The eight excerpts from Niccolò Machiavelli are from: *Historie fiorentine*, work posthumously published in 1532, *Il Principe*, a letter to Francesco Vettori del 10 dicembre 1513, *La vita di Castrucci Castracani da Lucca,* 1520, *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*, *Belfagor*.

[67] The six excerpts of Torquato Tasso are from letters to various people.

[68] The five excerpts of Giorgio Vasari are chosen from *Vita di Raffaello da Urbino* and *Vita di Michelagnolo Bonarroti*.

[69] Five extracts from Francesco Guicciardini are drawn from *La Historia d'Italia*, 1561; also represented is the correspondence between Guicciardini and Machiavelli, with five letters sent between May 17 and 19, 1521.

[70] Two selections from Benvenuto Cellini are from his *Vita scritta da lui medesimo*.

[71] Two passages are from the *Storia fiorentina* of Benedetto Varchi.

[72] Two passages from Bernardino Baldi are from *Della vita di Guidobaldo I. Duca d'Urbino*.

[73] The passage from Pietro Bembo is from *Gli Asolani*, first edition, 1505.

[74] By Lodovico Castelvetro is included an extract from his commentary on the *Prose* works of Pietro Bembo.

[75] Baldassar Castiglione is represented by an extract from *Il libro del Cortegiano*, first edition, 1528.

[76] The extract from Angelo Di Costanzo is from his *Istoria del Regno di Napoli.*

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

by Galileo Galilei,[77] Guido Bentivoglio,[78] Lorenzo Magalotti,[79] Fulvio Testi[80] and Arrigo Catterino Davila.[81]

Authors of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, are well represented, with 49 extracts (39% of the total): Gasparo Gozzi,[82] Pietro Metastasio,[83] Vittorio Alfieri,[84] Giuseppe Baretti, whose *The appearance of London to a Foreigner*,[85] is included, Gaetano Filangieri,[86] Francesco Algarotti.[87] The excerpt from Girolamo Tiraboschi, taken from his *Storia della letteratura italiana*, is a passage where the historian draws a literary comparison between Ariosto and Tasso.

Between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries stands the figure of Michele Colombo,[88] whilst among Panizzi's contemporaries there appear Ugo Foscolo,[89] two extracts from Foscolo's friend Ippolito Pindemonte, and Alessandro Manzoni with two extracts from the first edition of *I promessi sposi*, which had appeared in the June of the previous year: one part from chapter IV (Padre Cristoforo) and one part from chapter XXII (Cardinal Federigo Borromeo). Dionisotti observes that

> the success of the *Promessi sposi* was immediate and extremely widespread, but that, even in Italy, it would not be easy to find any other such significant early anthology bearing witness to that success [… Panizzi] had immediately grasped the new sense of revolution in Italy and the value of Manzoni's novel to the nation in its relations with Europe. [90]

## Stories from Italian Writers with a Literal Interlinear Traduction, 1830

In 1830 Panizzi publishes his *Stories from Italian Writers with a Literal Interlinear Traduction* with John Taylor,[91] the same publisher to whom he had given his first two works, *Extracts*, and *Grammar*.

[77] Galileo Galilei is represented by three extracts from: *Il saggiatore*: *La favola dei suoni*, *Lettera a Madama Cristina granduchessa madre*, *Al p. Vincenzo Ranieri* del 1633.

[78] From Guido Bentivoglio is the passage *Carattere della Regina Elisabetta*, drawn from *Della guerra di Fiandra*.

[79] A passage of Lorenzo Magalotti is extracted from *Lettera Al Signor Marchese Gio. Battista Strozzi. Descrizione della vita di Lonchio*.

[80] A letter was published by Fulvio Testi to his father Giambattista d'Este.

[81] A passage from *Historia delle guerre civili di Francia* by Arrigo Catterino Davila Brano.

[82] Twenty fables, short stories and letters come from *Osservatore* by Gasparo Gozzi.

[83] Eleven letters of Pietro Metastasio addressed to various personalities: Marianna Benti Bulgarelli, Count Algarotti, Count Bathyany, Domenico Diodati, to his brother, Captain Cosimelli, dated between 4th July 1733 and 19 May 1769.

[84] Vittorio Alfieri opens the anthology with six songs, two stories of visits to England, and a story of his second trip to Tuscany extracted from *Vita*; a passage from *Della tirannide* and two passage from *Del principe e delle lettere*: *Cosa sia il principe*, and *Qual sia maggior cosa, o un grande scrittore, o un Principe grande*.

[85] Giuseppe Baretti's letters are addressed to various interlocutors, including his brothers and six stories of visits in several countries, including Portugal and Spain.

[86] Gaetano Filangieri, four passages from *La scienza della legislazione*.

[87] Francesco Algarotti, a passage from *Viaggi di Russia*.

[88] Michele Colombo, a passage from *Tre novelle di messer Agnol Piccione*.

[89] Four passages are mentioned by Ugo Foscolo, among which *The love of Country. Venice sold to Austria by Napoleon. State of Italy. Hopes and Fears*; e *A generous patriot. Parini* extracted from *Ultime lettere di Jacopo Ortis*.

[90] Carlo Dionisotti, *Un professore a Londra*, cit., p. 111.

[91] Antonio Panizzi, *Stories from Italian Writers with a literal interlinear translation,on the plan recommended by Mr. Locke (Selected from Dr. Panizzi's Extracts from Italian Prose Writers.) [With notes, largely extracted from Panizzi's "Elementary Italian Grammar"]*. London: John Taylor, 1830. On cover: *A popular system of classical instruction, combining the methods of Locke, Ascham, Milton, & c.*

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600



Two years later, his *Stories from Italian Writers; With a Literal Interlinear Translation, on Locke's Plan of Classical Instruction: Illustrated with Notes*,[92] is published in the United States, with a second, London edition in 1835.[93] This latter work presents numerous differences: the introduction covers the theoretical aspects of Italian grammar on the sound of: vowels, consonants and letter combinations; syllables, accents and a table of Italian definite and indefinite articles; the selection includes excerpts from Vittorio Alfieri, Giuseppe Baretti, Baldassar Castiglione and Gaetano Filangieri.[94] The first part presents the text in Italian with interlinear translation in English and explanatory notes; the second, the text only, in Italian.
The United States edition opens with a new, short preface by Filippo Mancinelli,[95] written in Philadelphia on October 10, 1832, in praise of the value of the ancient method of interlinear translation, which had long been neglected; Mancinelli declares that he has adopted *Stories from Italian Writers*, by Panizzi, consisting of a selection of the passages published in *Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers* and that he wishes to re-issue it, with the addition of "a few familiar dialogues, and other easy exercises" in the hope that they would assist the student in acquiring the "beautiful language". There follows an *Introduzione* consisting of grammatical tables,[96] and lastly, the three sections into which the work is organised:

- *Novelle italiane*, with a selection of texts consisting of excerpts from Vittorio Alfieri, Giuseppe Baretti, Baldassar Castiglione and Gaetano Filangieri; anecdotes, short stories;[97]
- *Italian tales*, which reintroduces interlinear translated texts and a series of notes;[98]
- *The Easy dialogues* of Mancinelli, with translation into Italian.[99]

---

[92] *Stories from Italian Writers; With a Literal Interlinear Translation, on Locke's Plan of Classical Instruction: Illustrated with Notes.* First American from last London Edition, with additional translations and notes by F.[ilippo] Mancinelli. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, Chesnut Street 1832. First and second editions (1835) available online on Google books.

[93] *Stories from Italian Writers with a literal interlinear translation on the plan recommended* by Mr. Locke. Illustrated with notes. Second edition. London: John Taylor, 1835.

[94] *Viaggio in Inghilterra e Olanda, Terzo viaggio in Inghilterra* are extracted from *Vita di Vittorio Alfieri scritta da esso.* The passages of Giuseppe Baretti are extracted from *Del miglior metodo per imparare una lingua: Lettera ad una donna inglese e lettera Di Francesco Ageno al marchese Giambattista Negroni*, the passages of Baldassar Castiglione are extracted from *Il libro del cortegiano* and of Gaetano Filangieri from *Scienza della legislazione*.

[95] Filippo Mancinelli, son of Gioacchino, in 1832 translated from French *Dialoghi disposti per facilitare lo studio della lingua italiana* di A.G. Collot (Collot, A.G. *Dialoghi disposti per facilitare lo studio della lingua italiana*, translated by F. Mancinelli, romano. Serie I. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea – Chestnut Street, 1832).

[96] The tables relate to the sound of: vowels, consonants and letter unions; syllables, accents, articles, days of the week, seasons of the year, cardinal numbers, order numbers, adverbial numbers, collective numbers, numbers distributive, proportional numbers (pp. IX-XV).

[97] *Stories from Italian writers; With a literal interlinear translation on Locke's Plan of Classical Instruction*, cit., pp. 9–44. Le novelle sono: *Il vecchio bue*, *La Scimia padrona del sacco delle noci e le altre scimie*, *Il cervo scacciato dalla selva dal cinghiale, che chiede aiuto agli animali suoi vicini* di Giovanni Gherardo de Rossi; *La lucciola, ed il vermicello* di Gasparo Gozzi; *L'aquila e la biscia* di Melchior Cesarotti; *Il pappagallo ed altri animali* di Giuseppe Manzoni; *Le matrone ambizione* di Gaetano Polidori The short stories, except those by Gozzi and Cesarotti, are found in: *Scelta di prose italiane tratte da' più celebri scrittori antichi e moderni, per uso degli studiosi di questa lingua*. Pietro Bachi, precettore nell'Università Harvardiana. Cambridge: Carlo Folsom, 1828.

[98] *Stories from Italian writers*, cit. pp. 45–140.

[99] *Ibid*., pp. 141–169.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

## Literary research and difficulties of the London period

In spite of a significant commitment directed towards the preparation of teaching materials, Panizzi now dedicates himself largely to research and to studies on the Italian Renaissance completed for the preparation of the *Orlando Innamorato* of Matteo Maria Boiardo and the *Orlando Furioso* of Ludovico Ariosto, which constitute his principal and highly regarded literary-critical production. This London period is marked above all by increasing financial difficulties: apart from small payments for occasional reviews, and his university salary of £250 per annum,[100] Panizzi has no other means of income. The hardships endured by him are many and varied, among them the University's decision to reduce to £200 the salaries of the professors of Italian, German, Spanish and Oriental languages, whose protests fell on deaf ears.

> The spectre arose of living on a mere pittance, such as he had known in his first years in England, and he bitterly regretted his decision to leave Liverpool, where he was known and well liked, and had enjoyed a reasonable degree of financial security, for the risky uncertainty of life in London.[101]

Nothing came of the projects which Panizzi had developed, with the agreement of the Council of London University, for finding a way out of such an unfortunate situation: in March 1829 he developed a course of lectures on the romantic poets, with very low attendance, however, from the public; a subsequent course saw the presence of only two people, "who would not have joined, had they not been my personal friends", remarked Coates.[102] In the following April, a series of lectures on Italian life, held in a venue[103] which was easier to attend for female members of the public, who were also those more likely to be interested, saw an attendance of fifty persons who, nevertheless, were still mainly from his circle of friends.

## Orlando furioso di Ariosto

In 1830 the first volume appeared of the *Orlando Innamorato di Bojardo: Orlando Furioso di Ariosto: with an Essay on the Romantic Narrative Poetry of the Italians; Memoirs, and Notes* by Antonio Panizzi, a work that would be published in nine volumes by the London publisher Pickering between 1830 and 1834. Dionisotti recognizes that, with "the edition of the two poems", to which is added in 1835 that of the lyrical poems of Boiardo, "Panizzi provided Italian literary history with a monumental contribution"[104] that was, however, almost forgotten, as Luigi Settembrini would observe.[105] The first volume is dedicated to William Roscoe and contains a dissertation on Italian romantic poetry with an

[100] Constance Brooks, *Antonio Panizzi: scholar and patriot*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931, p. 47.
[101] Edward Miller, *Prince of Librarians*, cit., p. 72.
[102] Antonio Panizzi a Thomas Coates, 1st may [presumably between 1829 and 1830]. Margaret Campbell Walker Wicks, *The Italian Exiles in London 1816-1848*, cit., p. 269.
[103] Willis's Rooms, King Street, St James.
[104] Carlo Dionisotti, *Un professore a Londra,* cit., p. 115.
[105] *Lezioni di letteratura italiana dettate nell'Università di Napoli* da Luigi Settembrini, vol. 1. Napoli: Stabilimento Tipografico Ghio, 1866, p. 338.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online

DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

JLIS.it

analysis of *Teseide* by Boccaccio, *Morgante* by Pulci and *Mambriano* by Bello[106]. In the second volume (1831) after a preface in memory of Boiardo, the life of Ariosto is presented. "It was Panizzi who first noted that in the *Innamorato* there is a confluence between the heroic-religious cycle of Charlemagne and the romantic cycle of the Round Table".[107] The text of the *Orlando Innamorato* comes edited with notes in English to assist the reader of the translation, together with memories and observations of a personal nature; comparisons are drawn with Berni's text of the *Innamorato* and other editions.
Panizzi consulted the sixteenth century editions of Boiardo in the private library of his friend Thomas Grenville, and of Count George Spencer. In volumes V and VI of his critical edition, he publishes references to the sources in *Bibliographical notices* of some early editions of the *Orlando Innamorato* and *Furioso*.[108] With completion of the publication of the nine volumes in 1834, Panizzi is thanked by member of Parliament Thomas Macaulay "for having given him the means of reading an *Orlando Innamorato* better than the one which he had read in the reworking by Berni".[109]
The negative criticism of Thomas Keightley[110] appearing in the "Foreign Quarterly Review",[111] is to be considered in the context of the difficult relations between Panizzi and Keightley, reported in depth by Neil Harris.[112] The relationship between the two, initially one of simple, mutual interests, undergoes gradual deterioration, whether because of the closeness ideologically of Keightley with Gabriele Rossetti, or through a series of misunderstandings, among them, the suspicion that Panizzi was the author of an anonymous review that trashed *Tales and Popular Fictions*, the popular literary work by Keightley. This false attribution of authorship prompted an extremely vulgar attack by the Irish writer and a justifiable reaction by Panizzi, which revealed a characteristic of the man that marked him in his professional life, symbolically represented by the seal which he applied to his letters with the motto Je réponds à qui me touche, a detail pointed out by Constance Wicks and Neil Harris.
In an open letter to the "Foreign Quarterly Review",[113] Panizzi opens up an exchange of views which will last for several years and which, ironically, displays all the contradictions and hidden agenda of criticism: inconsistency regarding the subject, gross and out-of-place use of stereotypes, which on various occasions, were attributed to him by English and Italians alike.
Panizzi's activity as a bibliographer with expert knowledge of sources, a scholar of Italian language and literature, and as an academic, has been investigated relatively widely; here, on the other hand, one is dealing with a crucial transition period, characterizing Panizzi's life in his twenties, a period in which, from a lawyer, he becomes a complete man of letters, and, from an exile, becomes fully

[106] Louis Fagan, *The life of Sir Anthony Panizzi, K.C.B., late librarian of the British Museum, Senator of Italy*. Second edition. London: Remington, 1880, vol. 1, p. 79.
[107] Giulio Caprin; *L'esule fortunato*, cit., p. 98.
[108] Le *Bibliographical notices* were then published as an extract of 103 pages by the Pickering publisher in 1831; cf. Giuseppe Anceschi, *Nota bibliografica degli scritti di e su Antonio Panizzi*, in Enzo Bottasso, Carlo Dionisotti, Maurizio Festanti, Edward Miller, *Studi su Antonio Panizzi*, a cura di Maurizio Festanti, cit., p. 521.
[109] Giulio Caprin, *L'esule fortunato*, cit., p. 127. Macaulay promised to write a critical comment in the journal "Edinburgh review".
[110] Thomas Keightley (1789-1872) Irish author of 'comparative' folklore or mythological works such as *Fairy Mythology* (1828), editor of some editions of the works of Milton and Shakespeare, and author of manuals and texts for the school.
[111] *Foreign Quarterly Review,* xv (1835), pp. 46–74, 50–51.
[112] Neil Harris, *"Je réponds à qui me touche". The Quarrel in 1835 between Antonio Panizzi and Thomas Keightley*, "La Bibliofilia", vol. XCIX, n. 3 (1997), pp. 237–269.
[113] Letter of 27th March 1835.

integrated into the English language, into English culture and society. One wonders whether all this activity, impressive for the high level and wide range of knowledge attained within a short period of time, helped to ease his way into the world of libraries, acquiring high-level technical competencies in that field also, always continuing to seek in-depth understanding of the situations in which he found himself, the methods most suited to relating to his interlocutors and the most functional and innovative solutions for the organisation of work at the British Library.

## References

Anceschi, Giuseppe. 1981. *Nota bibliografica degli scritti di e su Antonio Panizzi*. In Enzo Bottasso, Carlo Dionisotti, Maurizio Festanti, Edward Miller, *Studi su Antonio Panizzi*, a cura di Maurizio Festanti, 515–535. Reggio Emilia: Biblioteca municipale A. Panizzi.

Bachi, Pietro. 1828. *Scelta di prose italiane tratte da' più celebri scrittori antichi e moderni, per uso degli studiosi di questa lingua da Pietro Bachi, precettore nell'Università Harvardiana*. Cambridge: Carlo Folsom.

Biagioli, Niccolò Giosafatte. 1805. *Grammaire italienne, élémentaire et raisonnée, suivie d'un traité de la poésie italienne*. Paris: Fayolle.

Biagioli, Niccolò Giosafatte. 1814. *Grammatica ragionata della lingua francese.* Parigi: Didot.

Brooks, Constance, 1931. *Antonio Panizzi: scholar and patriot*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Caprin, Giulio. 1945. *L'esule fortunato: Antonio Panizzi.* Firenze: Vallecchi.

Cerutti, Angelo. 1828. *A New Italian Grammar or a Course of lessons in the Italian language.* London: printed for Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper.

Collot, A.G. 1832. *Dialoghi disposti per facilitare lo studio della lingua italiana*, translated by F. Mancinelli, romano. Serie I. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea – Chestnut Street.

Dionisotti, Carlo. 2002. *Un professore a Londra. Studi su Antonio Panizzi*, a cura di Giuseppe Anceschi. Novara: Interlinea edizioni.

Fagan, Louis. 1880. *The Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi, K.C.B. Late Principal Librarian of the British Museum. Senator of Italy*. London: Remington.

Fagan, Louis. 1880. *The Life of Sir Anthony Panizzi, K.C.B. Late Principal Librarian of the British Museum. Senator of Italy*. Second edition. London: Remington.

Fornara, Simone. 2005. *Breve storia della grammatica italiana.* Roma: Carocci.

*Lettere ad Antonio Panizzi di uomini illustri e amici italiani (1823-1870)*, pubblicate da Luigi Fagan. Firenze: Barbèra, 1880.

JLIS.it 11, 1 (January 2020)
ISSN: 2038-1026 online
Open access article licensed under CC-BY
DOI: 10.4403/jlis.it-12600

Harris, Neil. 1997. *'Je réponds à qui me touche'. The Quarrel in 1835 between Antonio Panizzi and Thomas Keightley*, "La Bibliofilia", 99:237–269.

Leopardi, Giacomo. 1827. *Crestomazia italiana, ossia Scelta di luoghi insigni o per sentimento o per locuzione raccolti dagli scritti italiani in prosa di autori eccellenti d'ogni secolo*, per cura del conte Giacomo Leopardi. Milano: Ant. Fort. Stella.

Mazzini, Giuseppe. 1914. *Scritti editi ed inediti*. Imola: Galeati.

Miller, Edward. 1967. *Prince of Librarians. The Life and Times of Antonio Panizzi of the British Museum*. London: Deutsch.

New, Chester William. 1961. *The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Panizzi, Antonio. 1823. *Dei Processi e delle Sentenze contro Gli imputati di Lesa-Maestà e di aderenza alle Sette proscritte negli Stati di Modena del Tribunale statario di Rubiera.* Madrid [ma Lugano]: [s.n.].

Panizzi, Antonio. 1828. *An Elementary Italian Grammar for the Use of Students in the London University.* London: printed for John Taylor bookseller and publisher to the University, Upper Gower Street.

Panizzi, Antonio. 1828. *Extracts from the Italian Prose Writers for the Use of Students in the London University.* London: John Taylor.

Panizzi, Antonio. 1830-1834. *Orlando Orlando innamorato di Bojardo: Orlando furioso di Ariosto: with an essay on the romantic narrative poetry of the Italians; memoirs, and notes*. London: William Pickering, 9 voll.

Panizzi, Antonio. 1830. *Stories from Italian Writers; with a literal interlinear translation, on the plan recommended by Mr. Locke (Selected from Dr. Panizzi's Extracts from* Antonio Panizzi, *Italian Prose Writers.) [With notes, largely extracted from Panizzi's "Elementary Italian Grammar"]*. London: John Taylor.

Panizzi, Antonio. 1832. *Stories from Italian Writers; with a literal interlinear translation, on Locke's Plan of Classical Instruction: Illustrated with Notes.* First American from last London Edition, with additional translations and notes by F.[ilippo] Mancinelli. Philadelphia: Carey & Lea, Chesnut Street.

Panizzi, Antonio. 1835. *Stories from Italian Writers; with a literal interlinear translation on the plan recommended* by Mr. Locke. Illustrated with notes. Second edition. London: John Taylor.

Settembrini, Luigi. 1866. *Lezioni di letteratura italiana dettate nell'Università di Napoli da Luigi Settembrini*. Napoli: Stabilimento Tipografico Ghio.

Wicks, Margaret C. W. 1937. *The Italian Exiles in London 1816-1848*. Manchester: University Press.